that one thing he said for both the female and female, and if they are as wife in the kindergarten's settlement it were be promised from respective also. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Fault

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dundee and Fault as members of the Fault group:

Dundee and Fault women: 8	Dundee and Fault men: 10
Dundee and Rose women: 5	Dundee and Rose men: 7
Dundee and Folk women: 5	

Marriage of Dundee women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dundee, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have considered an insult, such marriages also mean the cessation of work to the Dundee.

Polygamy

Although there is no objection to polygamy, Dundee settlers have the custom of acquiring wives from one wife or a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. No one genealogy a women had as few lives with successive husbands, none of these her husband's brothers, and her only three was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Fault, the Dundee recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives, it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only, permanent. The husband may claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any reason whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, experienced, and the mother in presence of possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body meal for that period for several months, while the father living allowed to eat only fat fish. The mother must be purified by her husband, who fetch a good reward for most exquisite ceremony if he has none of the worst and who for the most intelligent grass which from the stomach of her fish, tongues, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's chief performance consist by they both must be separated by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her nearest friends. The Dundee and that if a man has an x may

Children receive their first names, the right-name, soon after birth, on naming the Fault, the name is not used, but they the child and, a preceding spirit. The parent or principal name is given before the child was born, or the day after birth if it has given solid food, and is called "grandpa name" in imitation of the Fault animals. Children may also be given nicknames which allow refer to some physical peculiarity, other circumstance, their favorite things can do, about who calling them

b Huntingford B-4,1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

patronymic from their father's prestige name. Younger men generally take their patronymic from the father's distinction, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1938-39. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save in detail) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same six names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mot* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Lapkitalik*, the senior; *Tapsiret* or *Kipkilionyoch*, the middle; and *Kwondamet* or *Kipkendich*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own kinds, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Previous Generation

Local Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in their settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiek* (*koronet*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1906 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest, after that they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kwal ap oret*, the *kwond* of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the names, three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal. Though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan, the exception to this rule is found in the case of this, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exemption before the possibility to the influence of the Nandi, among whom this marriage are common between people of different totems. (See p. 31.) There exist to be no restrictions either on marriage between [illegible] or on eating or using the [illegible] animals, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were totemistic, and that their present constitution is a relic borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which enough [illegible] of the reported clans are all Nandi.

[illegible] Nandi occasionally are spared to this end. [illegible] Nandi word meaning "the name."

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7. Names

A Dorobo man has normally at least four names: (1) spirit-name, (2) porridge-name, (3) nickname, (4) patronymic, though he does not use them all.

(1) Spirit-name. The choice of a spirit-name, *koinet ap ceweriké* (or, *ceik*), may be determined in one of three ways: (a) a pregnant woman may dream that an ancestor of her husband's visits her and tells her to call the child after him; (b) after the child is born, the father calls in his brother and his wife, and one or two other near relations on the paternal side, and they recite a number of names borne by their ancestors, passing after each name; when the child sneezes, the name last spoken is given to it, this being one of the ways in which the ancestors indicate their will in the matter of names; a little snuff is blown up the child's nostrils to make sure that it does sneeze; (c) by taking the name of a relative in the next generation but one, as in the case of Arap Maiyo's family, whose spirit-names were chosen in this manner:

	Porridge-name:	Spirit-name:
Father's father:	Kipus	
Father:	Kimining	
Himself:	Kimnyo	Kipus
His son:	Tiongui	Kimining
His son's son:	not yet (will be) born	Kimnyo
		Tiongui

The second and third methods seem to be the commonest, and their use depends on family custom; the first method was described to me, but I believe is seldom used. The spirit-name once given is never spoken, and is known only to the bearer and those who were present when it was given; its purpose is to link the bearer with a specific ancestor, and to ensure remembrance of his name.

(2) Porridge-name. This term is borrowed from the Nandi, who call it porridge-name because it is given at the time when a child is first fed with porridge or gruel (*koinet ane mosorok*). There are two methods of choosing this name. The father's parents, if alive, and other elderly paternal relations, meet in the father's hut; they drink beer, which is not shared by the child's father and mother. The father's mother, or some female relative on the paternal side, then holds the child in her arms and says, *Kibwris kimwa*, "we call you forth and such a name", announcing a name which the relatives have chosen from either (a) some circumstance connected with the child's birth, like the time of day when it was born, or some recent action of its father's; or (b) the name of an ancestor of the next generation but one, as in the case of spirit-names; this second choice is made when spirit-names are not based on the alternate generation system.

(3) Nickname. This is not an essential name, for all do not have a nickname. When given, it is generally derived from some physical peculiarity or habitual action of the person concerned, like Kipkenon, "left-handed", Kimoroket, "fat neck", Parapkuny, "bandylegs".

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551 (6) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Bleing'a younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngumuguo, was Paulikio Ndoki Kipkotuno arap Ngumuguo, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngumuguo his patronymic.

553 On the subject of naming children, Arap Bleing said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Kotet (Cromwell) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkosi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkosi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kosi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

583 1951 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, conceivable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
3 were of Dorobo men with Kipsigis and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Kipsigis man.

Of the Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their consequent inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

9:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Oi si nyon koo ingoti kokwet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*sesut*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cowwokik, okkwe kiony ne kiyan,
Apoto, give-us animal which we may kill,
okkwe kwesik ni kiyaiyo.
Give-us honey enough to satisfy us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *kokwesik*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cowwokik, apiiyan emalit,
Apoto, fill-us-with food,
ni kiyaiyo sogiet.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realises that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Kimyon ni kwelyo, koro ne koree ole ne aciset, ni kosagh*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn right across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realises that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1937 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkoreon and Timaya, with

/340 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names boys, girls, hunter, married woman, parents.

• 553 The Wandorobo are not so extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother or a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Asá nor among other Wandorobo did the author find names peculiar to these tribes, the people here there that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered "An esteemed and wealthy Masai was called thus" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Kulúk.

The girl, at her marriage, is given a second name by her husband, outside of whom, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave [171] deed performed in hunting his companions give the deliverer a name corresponding to the one that the el murani receives after killing an enemy in war. The occasion is often the slaying of an elephant, to [551] which the names el ollon gîl or kimûjo refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (el ollon) fat, looks speckled (gîl). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called en mûjo. Another name is el ollo olûl (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a greater hunting expedition is called el dorpi upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

[55] After the birth of the first child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Salalgon, the father is designated as ang Salalgon (father of S.), the mother enor S. (mother of S.). After the death of the first child, the parents, in the manner, are [i.e., a Masai word--Kaulpak]